

October 22, 1998

Ms. Jennifer H. Boyt, Esq.
Federal Election Commission
Office of the General Counsel
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

RE: FEC MUR 4801

Dear Ms. Boyt:

This letter constitutes the response of the Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens and its President, Scott Watts ("Respondents"), to the complaint in the above-referenced matter.

The complaint alleges that a member of Senator Harry Reid's campaign staff, David Cherry, "improperly" and "misguidedly" called a member of the Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens to invite him to a meeting of that organization held on July 1, 1998, in Las Vegas, Nevada. The complaint also alleges that Mr. Cherry contacted other members of that organization and asked them to send "pre-written" letters to editors of newspapers in Nevada, and that an aide to Senator Reid made an "improper" presentation to a meeting of the Jewish War Veterans. ¹

For the reasons stated below, the Commission should find no reason to believe that Respondents Scott Watts and the Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens violated the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, and should take no further action in this matter.

¹ NSCSC never asked its members to sign pre-written letters to the editor on behalf of the Reid campaign, nor does it have any knowledge of any involvement by the Reid staff with the Jewish War Veterans.

FACTUAL STATEMENT

The Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens ("NSCSC") is a nonprofit membership corporation organized as a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization for federal and state tax purposes. NSCSC is a state chapter of the National Council of Senior Citizens ("NCSC") but it elects and is governed by its own Executive Board. Declaration of Scott Watts ("Watts dec.") at 3, Attachment 1.

On July 1, 1998, NSCSC sponsored an event held at a union hall in Reno, Nevada. The purpose of the event was to discuss the voting records of the Nevada congressional delegation on legislative issues affecting the lives of senior citizens. Nevada's congressional delegation consists of two Republicans, Representatives John Ensign and Jim Gibbons; and two Democrats, Senators Harry Reid and Richard Bryan. Watts dec. at 4.

The discussion was based on a voting record prepared and distributed by the NCSC in February 1998, as well as an article appearing in the June/July issue of the organization's magazine *Seniority* entitled "Heroes and Zeroes." Watts dec. at 6.

The NCSC voting record had been prepared by NCSC staff members without any contact or discussion with any federal candidate (or candidate representative) concerning its preparation, analysis, or the conclusions reached. Declaration of Daniel Schulder ("Schulder dec.") at 4, Attachment 2. It was distributed to NCSC members, to NCSC state chapters, to members of Congress, and to any other organizations and individuals requesting copies. Schulder dec. at 3. The *Seniority* article summarized

the key issues contained in the February voting record and identified those members of Congress voting the worst or the best on those issues. It, too, was prepared without any contact or discussion with any federal candidate or candidate representative. Declaration of Bette Cooper ("Cooper dec.") at 3. The magazine was distributed primarily to NCSC members (approximately 248,000) and state chapters. Members of Congress received a courtesy copy.

Scott Watts organized the Reno event. The audience consisted of NSCSC members and three local newspaper reporters. No federal candidate or representative of any federal candidate was present. Watts dec. at 5.

Mr. Watts showed a film about the National Council of Senior Citizens. He also talked about important legislative issues in the Congress such as the "Archer-Kyle Amendment" and how the Nevada Congressional delegation had voted on those issues. Watts dec. at 6. He read and distributed a press statement describing the delegation's respective voting records (see attachment A), and distributed copies of the NCSC voting record (see attachment B).

At no time during the meeting did Mr. Watts or anyone else call upon anyone present to elect or defeat any federal candidate. In fact, neither Mr. Watts nor anyone else at the event even mentioned the 1998 elections. Instead, Mr. Watts stressed that the event's purpose was to discuss the legislative issues of importance to seniors and how Nevada's elected representatives had voted on those issues. Watts dec. at 8.

The NSCSC spent no money on this meeting. There was no charge for the union hall where it occurred. Mr. Watts xeroxed his own press statement on his home

fax machine and obtained the copies of the voting record that he handed out at the meeting free of charge from NCSC. There were no other expenses other than a few local telephone calls and faxes which Mr. Watts made from his home. Watts dec. at 9.

On July 1, 1998, NSCSC also held a meeting in Las Vegas, similarly, to discuss the voting records of the Nevada congressional delegation. This meeting was held in conjunction with a regular meeting of a seniors group at the Dula Gymnasium Studio, which is a senior citizen center owned by the city of Las Vegas. Declaration of Michael E. Aupperle, at 4 ("Aupperle dec."), Attachment 4. Mike Aupperle, a member of the NSCSC Executive Board, was one of NSCSC's representatives at the Las Vegas meeting.

At the Las Vegas meeting, Mr. Aupperle and another NSCSC member, Len Vizzaccero, talked about the legislative issues described in the NCSC voting record, particularly the "Archer-Kyle Amendment," and what those issues meant for seniors. Aupperle dec. at 6. They also described the respective voting records of the Nevada congressional based on the information contained in the NCSC voting record. *Id.* They distributed copies of the voting record, as well as the *Seniority* article "Heroes and Zeroes." *Id.* Only one television reporter attended the meeting. Aupperle dec. at 5. No candidates or candidate representatives were present. *Id.*

At no time did Mr. Aupperle, Mr. Vizzaccero, or anyone else present call for the election or defeat of any of the four incumbents whose voting record was discussed. In fact, Mr. Aupperle specifically stated that the meeting's purpose was to discuss legislative issues and how Nevada's congressional delegation had voted on those

issues, and that NSCSC was not there to endorse any candidate or ask anyone to vote in any particular way. *Id.*

The NSCSC spent no money on this meeting. Aupperle dec. at 8. It occurred at a regular meeting of a seniors club at a city retiree center for which there was no charge. *Id.* The materials distributed were either obtained from NCSC, the national organization, free of charge or were reproduced on Mr. Aupperle's home copy machine. *Id.* There were no other expenses. *Id.*

A couple of days before the two meetings in Reno and Las Vegas, Mr. Scott Watts had spoken to David Cherry, deputy press secretary of Senator Harry Reid's campaign. During that conversation, Mr. Watts expressed an interest in holding one or more NSCSC meetings to publicize the voting records of the Nevada delegation on senior issues. Mr. Watts expressed his concern that NSCSC would not be able to contact the press to attend such meetings because of his lack of experience with such matters and the organization's limited resources. Mr. Cherry then offered to help NSCSC by drafting press advisories and sending them out to the local press. Relieved that he had found someone who knew how to deal with the press, Mr. Scott sent Mr. Cherry a couple of pieces of NSCSC letterhead to use for the press advisories. Mr. Scott also asked Mr. Cherry to contact several NSCSC members to tell them about the events. During the same time period, Mr. Scott also called a number of NSCSC members to tell them about the events, as well as made arrangements for the meetings. Apparently, Mr. Cherry also drafted a press release for NSCSC to use at the meetings. That press release, however, was not used by either Mr. Watts or Mr. Aupperle. Mr. Watts used his own press

statement for the Reno event; no formal press statement was distributed at the Las Vegas meeting.

NSCSC is a volunteer organization. Its members are all retirees. It has no office or paid staff; it is headquartered in Scott Watts' house. The organization's treasury consists of at most two thousand dollars (\$2,000), most of which is needed to pay for holding membership meetings. The grassroots legislative activity which NSCSC undertakes is conducted by volunteers who believe in the organization's mission of protecting and bettering the lives of senior citizens.

DISCUSSION

For the following reasons, the complaint fails to allege any violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the FECA" or "the Act") nor of the Federal Election Commission's regulations.

I. RESPONDENTS' COMMUNICATIONS DID NOT CONSTITUTE "EXPRESS ADVOCACY" AND, THEREFORE, ARE OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF THE ACT

In *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1 (1976), the Supreme Court developed the express advocacy test in order to prevent precisely the type of issues advocacy in which the NSCSC engaged from being regulated by the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended ("the FECA" or "Act"). Recognizing that political speech lies at the heart of that which is protected by the First Amendment, the Court construed the Act as "apply[ing] only to expenditures for communications that in *express terms* advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for federal office." 424 U.S. at 44

(emphasis added). The Court defined "express advocacy" as "... express words of advocacy of election or defeat, such as "vote for," "elect", "support", "cast your ballot for," "Smith for Congress," "vote against," "defeat," "reject". *Id.* at 44, n. 52. The Court adopted this narrow definition of "express advocacy" in recognition of the fact that " the distinction between the discussion of issues and candidates and advocacy of election or defeat of candidates may often dissolve in practical application." *Id.* at 42.

In *F.E.C. v. Massachusetts Citizens for Life, Inc. ("MCFL")*, 479 U.S. 238 (1986), the Court held that the "express advocacy" test enunciated in *Buckley* applies to Section 441b's prohibition of corporate and union political expenditures "in connection with [a federal] election". Thus, under *MCFL*, a corporation's expenditures for a communication will only violate 2 U.S.C. 441b if that communication "expressly advocates" the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate. The rationale for the Court's adoption of the "express advocacy" standard in *MCFL* was the same as the Court's rationale in *Buckley*, that is, to prevent "issues advocacy" as opposed to "express electoral advocacy" from being regulated by the Act.

As the record reflects, NSCSC's communications did not expressly advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate but instead were limited to discussing the voting records of incumbent members of Congress without any mention of the 1998 elections. Moreover, those discussions took place some four months prior to the 1998 general election. Since the NSCSC's communications consisted of "issues advocacy" outside the scope of the FECA, the making of those communications did not violate section 441b of the Act.

II. NSCSC'S COMMUNICATIONS DID NOT CONSTITUTE A
"CONTRIBUTION" TO ANY FEDERAL CANDIDATE

Section 441b provides, in relevant part, that "[i]t is unlawful . . . for any corporation. . . to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any [federal] election. . . ." 2 U.S.C. 441b(a). As noted above, the Supreme Court in *MCFL* has interpreted the term "expenditure" for purposes of 2 U.S. C. 441b to apply only to payments for communications that contain "express advocacy" of the election or defeat of a clearly identified federal candidate. The term "contribution" is defined in Section 431 of the Act as excluding "any payment or obligation incurred by a corporation . . . which , under section 441b(b) of this title, would not constitute an expenditure by such corporation. . . ." 2 U.S. C. 431(8)(B) (vi). Accordingly, based on the plain language of the Act, NSCSC's payments, if any, for the cost of its voting record communications could not as a matter of statute constitute a "contribution" within the meaning of 2 U.S.C. 441b since those communications did not expressly advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate.

The fact that NSCSC had some minimal contact with a member of Senator Reid's campaign staff does not change this result. In *Clifton v. FEC* , 927 F. Supp. 493 (D.Me. 1996) , *aff'd* 114 F. 3d 1309 (1st Cir. 1997), *cert. denied*, 66 U.S.L.W. 3554 (Feb. 20, 1998) (No. 97-786) the court rejected the Commission's attempt to expand the Act's reach to so-called "coordinated" voter guides and voting records that fall short of express advocacy, characterizing this attempt as constitutionally suspect. 929 F Supp. at 497-

Moreover, even if the Commission's current rule prohibiting "coordination" of non-express advocacy voting communications was not, as the First Circuit in *Clifton* described it, "patently offensive to the First Amendment," in general, it certainly would be if applied to the instant facts. It is clear that the contact between NSCSC and the Reid campaign was purely ministerial in nature and did not influence the non-express advocacy nature of NSCSC's communications.

III. NSCSC DID NOT VIOLATE 2 U.S.C. 441b BECAUSE IT MADE NO DISBURSEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH ITS MEETINGS.

Section 441b of the Act prohibits unions and corporations from making any "contribution" or "expenditure" "in connection with any election." 2 U.S.C. 441b(a). Even, *assuming arguendo*, that this prohibition could be constitutionally read to prohibit a corporate disbursement for a non-express advocacy communication that mentions a federal officeholder, it cannot be applied here for the simple reason that the NSCSC spent no money whatsoever in connection with its meetings in Reno and Las Vegas.

As the record reflects, *all NSCSC did was to re-publicize a voting record that had already been publicly distributed by its parent organization NCSC. The voting record was prepared and distributed at NCSC's expense without any contact or coordination with any federal candidate. Schulder dec. at 4; Cooper dec. at 3.*

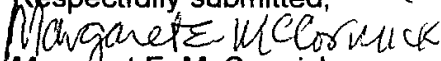
² Any reliance by the Commission on the Court of Appeals decision in *Clifton* would be misplaced. While the *Clifton* Appeals Court did not reach the question of whether coordinated non-express advocacy communications are outside the Act's scope, it made clear that any regulation that limits contact between citizens and their elected officials is constitutionally suspect and must be narrowly drawn.

NSCSC spent nothing to re-publicize the NCSC voting record at its Las Vegas or Reno events. The meeting rooms for the events cost nothing. Watts dec. at 9; Aupperle dec. at 8. The materials for the events were either supplied by NCSC without charge or were produced on individuals home office equipment free of charge. Watts dec. at 9; Aupperle dec. at 8. None of the individuals involved is paid by NSCSC for his time. Watts dec. at 2; Aupperle dec. at 2. There were no other expenses.

Since NSCSC did not make any disbursements in connection with its voting record events, it could not have violated 2 U.S. C. 441b since, under any theory, no payments were made "in connection with any [federal] election. "

CONCLUSION

This case involves a group of retired seniors who volunteer their time to educate other seniors about important legislative issues affecting their quality of life and about how their elected representatives vote on these issues. The Respondents engaged in legitimate issue advocacy with no intention of violating any provision of law including the FECA. Indeed, the courts have consistently narrowed the definition of "express advocacy" so as not to reach citizens such as these who take to heart the democratic process and their own responsibility in promoting good government. In light of the above, Respondents respectfully request that the Commission take no action against them with respect to this matter.

Respectfully submitted,

Margaret E. McCormick
Counsel for Respondents

NCSC CONGRESSIONAL VOTING RECORD



105th CONGRESS FIRST SESSION 1997

Balanced Budget Agreement Sets Pace for 1997 Voting Record

Two major events marked the direction of the first session of the 105th Congress: the increase of Democratic seats in the House, and the balanced budget agreement between the Congressional leadership and President Clinton. Greater Democrat-Republican parity in the House increased the role and influence of the President over legislation and long-term national policy.

Despite the increased parity, passage of the Balanced Budget Act (BBA) of 1997 has fundamentally altered the political playing field in the aging community. The BBA authorized the creation of a Medicare Commission to offer recommendations for changes in the Medicare program to accommodate the needs of "Baby Boomers" over the next three decades. At the same time, the President has embarked on a series of Social Security "forums" to take place in 1998 which will culminate in a White House Conference on Social Security later in the year. Both the Medicare Commission and the White House Conference on Social Security will generate legislative options in 1999 which could change and/or strengthen the social insurance substructure of both Social Security and Medicare. The legislative and economic events of 1997, as reflected in the votes selected for this Voting Record, have helped to set the stage for the 1999 debate.

Major Events

The defeat in the Senate of a Constitutional Balanced Budget Amendment helped shift attention from constitutional changes to legislated long-range budget policy. The President, early on, signaled to the Congressional Republican leadership his willingness to negotiate a balanced budget deal working towards a deficit-free 2002 budget. Once that agreement was made, the options open to House and Senate members to advance a progressive agenda became severely limited. The Congressional strategy for NCSC and our allies then shifted to defending basic senior citizen and family programs as our first priority.

The BBA

The balanced budget agreement, and the resulting spending and revenue bills, will result in a massive shift of Federal support away from domestic needs. Domestic discretionary programs will be cut \$60 billion over the next five years and \$180 billion over ten years. Medicare spending will be reduced by \$115 billion in five years, and \$386 billion over ten years. Linked with revenue losses (tax cuts) of between \$275 and \$400 billion over the same ten-year span, NCSC's push for increased Federal investment in housing, social services, transportation, jobs, nutrition support, medical research, quality health care, welfare needs, adequate retirement income and community development will become increasingly difficult.

Voting Patterns

The 1997 votes indicate continuing political polarization in Congress. Many key senior votes show a high degree of ideological discipline. However, on other votes (such as "reverse mortgage" fraud, and protecting the Consumer Price Index) members of both parties broke ranks to support progressive legislation. In other votes, (such as several of the Senate Medicare votes) radical changes harmful to American seniors were supported by large majorities of both Democrats and Republicans. What remains clear is that the political and legislative agenda ahead will be set more by negotiation than by "down your throat" tactics. If the 1998 elections produce only moderate shifts between the parties, 1999 congressional voting patterns could be similar to those of 1997 and early 1998.

NCSC will continue to press not only to "save" Social Security and Medicare, but to strengthen them for future generations. NCSC will also work to enhance consumer protections and high standards in Medicare and Medicaid, and to work again for a national health program covering all citizens. In addition, NCSC will intensify its commitment to social, economic and racial justice as well as full equity for women in our legislative work over the coming year.

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HOW TO READ THIS RECORD

Alongside the name of each lawmaker is his or her party affiliation. In addition, preceding the names of some lawmakers, there are symbols which are explained elsewhere in this box.

Below are lists of ten key votes selected as representative of the votes of critical importance to the elderly taken by the U.S. House and Senate. First appears the date on which the vote was taken, followed by the bill number and title of the bill or amendment. Then there is a description of the issue followed by a series of numbers indicating first the "Yes" and then the "No" votes—e.g., 136-55.

Finally, there is an explanation as to whether a "Yes" or "No" vote is a vote in favor of policies endorsed by NCSC officers and members.

Beside each Representative's and Senator's name appears a series of ten letters or symbols. These indicate whether the lawmakers voted and whether he or she voted Right (R) or Wrong (W) according to NCSC policy.

At the end of each column are two percentage figures—"1997%" and "Cum %". The first represents the number of "Right" votes out of the selected issues voted upon in 1997; the second represents the cumulative "Right" votes out of the selected issues voted upon from 1973-97, or since the lawmaker became a Member of Congress.

Key to House/Senate Symbols

- R** Voted right according to NCSC policy
- W** Voted wrong according to NCSC policy
- S** Speaker exercised discretion not to vote
- ?** Did Not Vote
- I** Not Eligible Member
- P** Voted Present

The number before each name indicates the Congressional District. AL indicates At-Large.

HOUSE VOTES

1. March 12, 1997. H. R. 89—Request New Balanced Budget from the President

This motion by Congressman Solomon (R-NY) was introduced to end debate and to prevent the possibility of amendments of the resolution requiring the President to submit to the House a "balanced budget" by April 7, 1997. The motion required the President to use economic assumptions that would require deeper cuts in Federal programs and outlays. Such cuts would severely undermine the ability of the Federal Government to respond to senior, family and young people's needs. Passed 226-200. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

2. April 15, 1997. H. J. Res. 62—Tax Limitation Constitutional Amendment/Passage

This joint resolution would have started the process of amending the U.S. Constitution to require a "super majority" (2/3's) vote in both the Senate and the House in order to raise any taxes. Any such change in the Constitution would cripple the ability of the Congress to meet national needs and make essential public investments. (A 2/3's majority of those voting in the House is required to pass a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution.) Rejected 233-190. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

3. May 7, 1997. H. Res. 93—Consumer Price Index Adjustments/Adoption

This motion introduced by Representative Souder (R-Ind.), would express the sense of the House that changes in how the Consumer Price Index (CPI) determines the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) would be made only by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS). This would prevent attempts to lower the CPI and COLA by legislation rather than the factual findings of BLS. Adopted 399-16. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

4. June 25, 1997. H.R. 2015—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation/Passage

This bill, the "Balanced Budget Act" (BBA) of 1997, sets the stage for a balanced budget by the year 2002 (or earlier based on a strong economy) through major reductions in Federal programs: \$115 billion in Medicare cuts; \$15 billion in Medicaid cuts; \$60 billion in domestic spending cuts. The BBA contains major increases in Medicare premiums and a strong push of Medicare beneficiaries toward "managed care" programs. It would also create Medicare "medical savings accounts". The cuts were required because the corresponding "revenue" bill contained \$135 billion in tax cuts over five years, primarily for upper income earners and stockholders. Passed 270-162. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

5. July 10, 1997. H. R. 2015—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending/Motion to Instruct

Representative Spratt (D-S.C.) Introduced a motion to instruct House negotiators working with the Senate on the Balanced Budget Act to oppose the Senate position on raising the age for Medicare eligibility from 65 to 67 and to support provisions to protect welfare clients in "welfare-to-work" programs with the same protections as other workers, including minimum wage and overtime, OSHA and anti-discrimination laws. Motion passed 414-14. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

6. June 26, 1997. H. R. 2014—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Taxes/Passage

This bill provided for tax cuts to some middle-income families with school children and major cuts to the nation's richest families with substantial capitol gains and large estates. More than half of the cuts will go to the top 5% of wealthy households and 70% of the cuts to the top 15%. For 74% of seniors with household incomes below \$40,000 a year, the result of the bill will be an average tax increase of \$21 a year. The gross tax cuts will amount to about \$133 billion over 5 years. Passed 253-179. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

7. July 16, 1997. H.R. 2158—Fiscal 1998 VA/HUD Appropriations/Recommit

The motion to recommit (send back to committee) the appropriations bill for HUD programs in fiscal year 1998 was introduced by Representative Kennedy (D-Mass.). The motion would have instructed the appropriations committee to increase HUD funding by \$160 million, increase money for Homeless programs by \$60 million, increase the Community Development Block Grants by \$45 and fund the Section 202 housing for the elderly program, support services coordinators, with \$20 million. Motion rejected 193-235. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

8. July 23, 1997. H.R. 2003—Budget Enforcement/Passage

This would establish "enforcement mechanisms" for the spending/deficit cuts and tax changes agreed to in the Balanced Budget Act and the tax changes in the 1997 revenue bill. The bill would require automatic cuts in individual entitlement programs if the targets are breached. Some of the scheduled tax cuts would be affected but only by temporary suspension of such cuts. The automatic cuts in entitlement programs would affect Medicare, Medicaid and SSI, all important programs for seniors. Rejected 81-347. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

9. July 30, 1997. H.R. 2015—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending/Conference Report

This Conference Report calls for cuts in projected entitlement spending (including Medicare and Medicaid) of \$140 billion by year 2002. It will establish Medicare tax-free "medical savings accounts", a major move toward privatization of the Medicare program. The Conference Report did contain some improvements in children's health coverage and a restoration of benefits for some legal immigrants. However, the push toward higher Medicare out-of-pocket costs and privatization were contained in this final version of the Budget Agreement. Adopted 346-85. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

10. September 16, 1997. S. 562—Senior Citizen Home Equity Protection/Passage

For millions of senior citizens, their homes constitute their major financial asset. Federal law allows seniors to get periodic payments, based on their equity in their home, but remain in their home until they must leave because of illness, death or other reasons. This bill, introduced by Representative Lazio (R-N.Y.), protects seniors from exploitation by unscrupulous companies which have been charging excessive fees just to learn about federal and state regulations regarding such "reverse mortgages." Passed, 422-1. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

HOUSE VOTES

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	%	1997 CUM %
ALABAMA													
1	Callahan S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	15
2	Everett T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	24
3	Riley B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	63
4	Aderholt R (R)	W	W	?	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	33	65
5	Cramer R (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	61
6	Bachus S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	22
7	Hilliard E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96

ALASKA													
AL	Young D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	?	?	?	R	43	33

ARIZONA													
1	Salmon M (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	60	30
2	Pastor E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	80	92
3	Stump B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	7
4	Shadegg J (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	40	23
5	Kolbe J (R)	W	W	?	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	11	13
6	Hayworth J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23

ARKANSAS													
1	Berry M (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	90	90
2	Snyder V (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	70	70
3	Hutchinson A (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	?	W	R	?	33	18
4	Dickey J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	50	26

CALIFORNIA													
1	Riggs F (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	30	20
2	Herger W (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	13
3	Fazio V (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	86
4	Doolittle J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	22
5	Matsui R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	?	R	W	R	89	92
6	Woolsey L (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	94
7	Miller G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
8	Pelosi N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
9	Dellums R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	98
10	Tauscher E (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	70
11	Pombo R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	50	24
12	Lantos T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
13	Stark P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	?	R	R	R	100	95
14	Eshoo A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
15	Campbell T (R)	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	30	30
16	Loftgren Z (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	93
17	Farr S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	93
18	Condit G (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	50	48
19	Radanovich G (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	33
20	Dooley C (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	60	70
21	Thomas B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	40	12
22	Capps W (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	40
23	Gallegly E (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	40	17
24	Sherman B (D)	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	70	70
25	McKeon H (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	40	20
26	Berman H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	96
27	Rogan J (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	40	40
28	Oreier O (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	40	9
29	Waxman H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	98
30	Becerra X (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	89	93
31	Martinez M (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	92
32	Dixon J (D)	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	89	97
33	Roybal-Allard L (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	94
34	Torres E (D)	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	89	95

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	%	1997 CUM %
35	Waters M (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	90	95
36	Harman J (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	71
37	Millender-McD. J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	93
38	Horn S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	38
39	Royce E (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	40	23
40	Lewis J (R)	W	?	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	44	14
41	Kim J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
42	Brown G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	93
43	Calvert K (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
44	Bono S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23
45	Rohrabacher D (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	30	18
46	Sanchez L (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	50	50
47	Cox C (R)	W	W	R	?	R	W	W	R	W	R	44	15
48	Packard R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	12
49	Bilbray B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30
50	Finer B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	98
51	Cunningham R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
52	Hunter D (R)	W	W	?	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	33	13

COLORADO													
1	DeGette D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
2	Skaggs D (D)	R	R	R	?	R	R	R	W	R	R	89	83
3	McInnis S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	20
4	Schaffer B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	30
5	Helley J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	17
6	Schaefer D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	13

CONNECTICUT													
1	Kennelly B (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	90
2	Gejdenson S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
3	DeLauro R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
4	Shays C (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	30	41
5	Maloney J (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	60	60
6	Johnson N (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	60	39

DELAWARE													
AL	Castle M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	30

FLORIDA													
1	Scarborough J (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	40	27
2	Boyd A (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	W	R	60	60
3	Brown C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	?	89	94
4	Fowler T (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	30	24
5	Thurman K (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	94
6	Stearns C (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	22
7	Mica J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	22
8	McCollum B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	19
9	Bilirakis M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30
10	Young C (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	26
11	Davis J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	70
12	Canady C (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	34
13	Miller D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	18
14	Goss P (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	40	16
15	Weldon D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	?	R	44	24
16	Foley M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30
17	Meek C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	88
18	Ros-Lehtinen I (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	44
19	Wexler R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	90	90
20	Deutsch P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	80	84
21	Diaz-Balart L (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	48
22	Shaw E (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	19
23	Hastings A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	91

												1997 CUM	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	%	%
GEORGIA													
1	Kingston J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	40	22
2	Bishop S (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	70	81
3	Collins M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
4	McKinney C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	80	80
5	Lewis J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	97
6	Gingrich N (R)	S	S	S	W	S	W	S	S	W	S	0	10
7	Barr B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	W	20	5
8	Chambliss S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	17
9	Deal N (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	22
10	Norwood C (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	17
11	Linder J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40

HAWAII																	
1	Abercrombie N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	?		89	96				
2	Mink P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	94				

IDAHO																	
1	Chenoweth H (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23				
2	Crapo M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	22				

ILLINOIS																	
1	Rush B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	100				
2	Jackson J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	100				
3	Lipinski W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	70	80				
4	Gutierrez L (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	98				
5	Blagojevich R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	90	90				
6	Hyde H (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	21				
7	Davis D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	100				
8	Crane P (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	8				
9	Yates S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96				
10	Porter J (R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	30	21				
11	Weller J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	?		33	24				
12	Costello J (D)	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	89	92				
13	Fawell H (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	14				
14	Hastert D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	15				
15	Ewing T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	40	19				
16	Manzullo D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20				
17	Evans L (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	97				
18	LaHood R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40				
19	Poshard G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	83				
20	Shimkus J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40				

INDIANA																	
1	Visclosky P (D)	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	60	82				
2	McIntosh D (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	60	27				
3	Roemer T (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	50	73				
4	Souder M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30				
5	Buyer S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	24				
6	Burton D (R)	W	W	R	W	?	W	W	W	W	R	33	10				
7	Pease E (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40				
8	Hostettler J (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	27				
9	Hamilton L (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	70				
10	Carson J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90				

IOWA																	
1	Leach J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	41				
2	Nussle J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	21				
3	Boswell L (D)	R	R	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	50	50				
4	Ganske G (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23				
5	Latham T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23				

KANSAS																	
1	Moran J (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	60	60				
2	Ryun J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	50				
3	Snowbarger V (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	50				
4	Tiahrt T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	27				

												1997 CUM	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	%	%
KENTUCKY													
1	Whitfield E (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23
2	Lewis R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	21
3	Northup A (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	4	40
4	Bunning J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	19
5	Rogers H (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	28
6	Baessler S (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	80	74

LOUISIANA																	
1	Livingston R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	12				
2	Jefferson W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	93				
3	Tauzin W (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	37				
4	McCrery J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	84				
5	Cooksey J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40				
6	Baker R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	13				
7	John C (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	50	50				

MAINE																	
1	Allen T (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	89	89				
2	Baldacci J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90				

MARYLAND													
1	Gilchrest W (R)	W	?	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	44	28
2	Ehrlich R (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	W	R	30	17
3	Cardin B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	92
4	Wynn A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	94
5	Hoyer S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	92
6	Bartlett R (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	R		40	20
7	Cummings E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	100
8	Morella C (R)	W	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	R		40	64

		1997 CUM											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	%	%
5	Sabo M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	94
6	Luther W (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	80
7	Peterson C (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	W	R		70	73
8	Oberstar J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	97

MISSISSIPPI

1	Wicker R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
2	Thompson B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	98
3	Pickering C (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R			40	40
4	Parker M (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R			40	38
5	Taylor G (D)	R	W	W	R	W	W	R	R			40	45

MISSOURI

1	Clay W (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	97
2	Talent J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R		40	20
3	Gephardt R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	87
4	Skellton I (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R		60	61
5	McCarthy K (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R		80	77
6	Danner P (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R		60	76
7	Blunt R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		40	40
8	Emerson J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		40	22
9	Hulshof K (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		40	40

MONTANA

AL	Hill R (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	50
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NEBRASKA

1	Bereuter D (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	29
2	Christensen J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23
3	Barrett B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	21

NEVADA

1	Ensign J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30
2	Gibbons J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1	Sununu J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
2	Bass C (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	17

NEW JERSEY

1	Andrews R (D)	R	W	?	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	67	76
2	LoBiondo F (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
3	Saxton J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	34
4	Smith C (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	55
5	Roukema M (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	42
6	Pallone F (D)	R	W	R	R	R	?	W	R			78	80
7	Franks B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	32
8	Pascrell B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	90
9	Rothman S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	90
10	Payne D (D)	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	97
11	Frelinghuysen R (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	W	R	40	40
12	Pappas M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
13	Menendez R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	96

NEW MEXICO

1	Schiff S (R)	W	?	?	W	?	W	?	?	?	?	0	28
2	Skeen J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
3	Redmond B (R)	I	I	I	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	43	43

NEW YORK

1	Forbes M (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	?	R			22	21
2	Lazio R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	36
3	King P (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R		40	26
4	McCarthy C (D)	R	W	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	70	70
5	Ackerman G (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	95
6	Flake F (D)	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		89	94
7	Manton T (D)	R	?	?	R	R	R	R	W	R		88	94

		1997 CUM											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	%	%
8	Nadler J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	98
9	Schumer C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	96
10	Towns E (D)	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	96
11	Owens M (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R		90	97
12	Velazquez N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	98
13	Molinar S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	I	33	35
14	Maloney C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	98
15	Rangel C (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	98
16	Serrano J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	95
17	Engel E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	99
18	Lowey N (D)	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		89	93
19	Kelly S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30
20	Gilman B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	69
21	McNulty M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	88
22	Solomon G (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	?	R	W	R	44	18
23	Boehlert S (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	58
24	McHugh J (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R		40	78
25	Walsh J (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	39
26	Hinchey M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R		90	96
27	Paxon B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	19
28	Slaughter L (D)	R	R	R	?	R	R	W	W	R		89	93
29	LaFalce J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	86
30	Quinn J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	38
31	Houghton A (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	40	39

NORTH CAROLINA

1	Clayton E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	90
2	Etheridge B (D)	R	W	R	W	R	R	R	R	R		80	80
3	Jones W (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		50	20
4	Price D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	90
5	Burr R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		50	23
6	Coble H (R)	?	W	R	W	W	R	R	R			56	19
7	McIntyre M (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		60	60
8	Hefner W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R		80	66
9	Myrick S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W		40	23
10	Ballenger C (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R			40	13
11	Taylor C (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R		20	16
12	Watt M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	96

NORTH DAKOTA

AL	Pomeroy E (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	84
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OHIO

1	Chabot S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	27
2	Portman R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	19
3	Hall T (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	R		80	87
4	Oxley M (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R		40	13
5	Gillmor P (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W		50	36
6	Strickland T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R		90	90
7	Hobson D (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W		40	21
8	Boehner J (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R		40	21
9	Kaptur M (D)	?	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	94
10	Kucinich D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R		100	100
11	Stokes L (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R			90	98
12	Kasich J (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	R		40	19
13	Brown S (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	W	R		89	88
14	Sawyer T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R		90	92
15	Pryce D (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R		40	22
16	Regula R (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R			30	29
17	Trafigant J (D)	W	W	R	W	R	R	W	W	R		50	86
18	Ney B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W		40	27
19	LaTourette S (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	W	R		40	37

OKLAHOMA

1	Largent S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R		40	23
2	Coburn T (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	R			40	27
3	Watkins W (R)	W	W	R	W	W	R	W	R			40	40

		1997 CUM										%	%
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
4	Watts J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
5	Istook E (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	20
6	Lucas F (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	26

OREGON

1	Furse E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	?	89	88
2	Smith B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
3	Blumenauer E (D)	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	80	87
4	DeFazio P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	90	93
5	Hooley D (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	80

PENNSYLVANIA

1	Foglietta T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
2	Fattah C (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	97
3	Borski R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96
4	Klink R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
5	Peterson J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
6	Holden T (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	86
7	Weldon C (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	39
8	Greenwood J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	26
9	Shuster B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	12
10	McDade J (R)	W	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	W	R	30	54
11	Kanjorski P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
12	Murtha J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	82
13	Fox J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	33
14	Coyne W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
15	McHale P (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	80
16	Pitts J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
17	Gekas G (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	30	17
18	Doyle M (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	80
19	Goodling B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	26
20	Mascara F (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
21	English P (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	27

RHODE ISLAND

1	Kennedy P (D)	?	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	97
2	Weygand B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	?	R	W	R	89	89

SOUTH CAROLINA

1	Sanford M (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	30	20
2	Spence F (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	16
3	Graham L (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	40	23
4	Inglis B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	22
5	Spratt J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	84
6	Clyburn J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	92

SOUTH DAKOTA

AL	Thune J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
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TENNESSEE

1	Jenkins B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
2	Duncan J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	24
3	Wamp Z (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	20
4	Hillery V (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	33
5	Clement B (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	R	W	R	70	78
6	Gordon B (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	W	R	R	60	77
7	Bryant E (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	23
8	Tanner J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	70	66
9	Ford H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	93

TEXAS

1	Sandlin M (D)	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	70	70
2	Turner J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	50	50
3	Johnson S (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	30	18
4	Hall R (D)	R	W	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	50	35
5	Sessions P (R)	W	W	?	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	33	33
6	Barton J (R)	W	W	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	30	13
7	Archer B (R)	W	W	?	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	33	8
8	Brady K (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	30
9	Lampson N (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	80
10	Doggett L (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	80	90

		1997 CUM										%	%
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
11	Edwards C (D)	R	R	?	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	78	75
12	Granger K (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
13	Thornberry W (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
14	Paul R (R)	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	R	W	W	40	40
15	Hinojosa R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
16	Reyes S (D)	R	R	?	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	89	89
17	Stenholm C (D)	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	60	30
18	Jackson-Lee S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	97
19	Combest L (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	14
20	Gonzalez H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	?	?	?	100	90
21	Smith L (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	17
22	DeLay T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	12
23	Bonilla H (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	R	R	50	26
24	Frost M (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	84
25	Bentsen K (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	83
26	Armey D (R)	W	W	R	W	?	W	W	R	W	R	33	13
27	Ortiz S (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	83
28	Rodriguez C (D)	I	I	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	88	88
29	Green G (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	92
30	Johnson E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	94

UTAH

1	Hansen J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	7
2	Cook M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40
3	Cannon C (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	40

VERMONT

AL	Sanders B (I)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96
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VIRGINIA

1	Bateman H (R)	W	R	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	50	15
2	Pickett O (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	R	80	66
3	Scott R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	90	92
4	Sisisky N (D)	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	60	71
5	Goode V (D)	R	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	50	50
6	Goodlatte R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
7	Bliley T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	12
8	Moran J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	78
9	Boucher R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	93
10	Wolf F (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	25
11	Davis T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	30

WASHINGTON

1	White R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23
2	Metcalfe J (R)	W	W	?	R	R	W	W	W	W	?	38	29
3	Smith L (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	50	31
4	Hastings R (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	20
5	Nethercutt G (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	23
6	Dicks N (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	80	89
7	McDermott J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	94
8	Dunn J (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	24
9	Smith A (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	80

WEST VIRGINIA

1	Mollohan A (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	90	83
2	Wise B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	95
3	Rahall N (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	95

WISCONSIN

1	Neumann M (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	24
2	Klug S (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	31
3	Kind R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	80	80
4	Klecza J (D)	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	80	93
5	Barrett T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	80	92
6	Petri T (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	23
7	Obey D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	97
8	Johnson J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	90	90
9	Sensenbrenner F (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	30	11

WYOMING

AL	Cubin B (R)	W	W	R	W	R	W	W	R	W	R	40	17
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SENATE VOTES

1. February 25, 1997. S.J.Res. 1—Balanced-Budget Constitutional Amendment/ Social Security

Senator Hatch (R-Utah) offered a motion to defeat the proposal of Senator Reid (D-Nev.) to exempt Social Security trust funds from budget calculations under the prospective constitutional amendment. As written, the amendment would threaten the legal basis for the trust funds and would also affect the Medicare trust fund.

Senator Hatch's motion was agreed to 55-44 thus including Social Security trust funds in balanced-budget calculations. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

2. March 4, 1997. S.J.Res.1—Balanced-Budget Constitutional Amendment/Passage

This Resolution would start the process of amending the Constitution to require, by 2002, or two years after ratification by three-fourths of the states, an annual and permanent "balanced Federal budget". Its passage would directly threaten the Social Security and Medicare programs, greatly reduce the capacity for Federal investments in the needs of the nation and hamper Federal response to recessions and disasters. A two-thirds majority of those voting in the Senate is required for passage of such a resolution. (It failed by one vote.) Rejected 66-34. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

3. June 24, 1997. S.947—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending-Medicare Home Health Co-payment

Senator Roth (R-Del.) introduced a motion to kill a Senator Kennedy (D-Mass.) amendment to the Balanced Budget Act (BBA) to prevent the introduction of a \$5-a-visit co-pay for Medicare home health services which are provided to very frail, homebound seniors and persons with disabilities. Previously, no such payments have been required. The Roth motion passed 59-41. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

4. June 24, 1997. S.947—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending-Medicare Eligibility, Increasing the Age for Medicare Services

Senator Durbin (D-Ill.) raised a point of order against a provision of the Senate BBA which would raise the age of eligibility for Medicare services from 65 to 67. Senator Roth (R-Del.) moved to kill Senator Durbin's point of order. Senator Roth's motion was agreed to 62-38. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

5. June 24, 1997. S.947—Fiscal 1998 Reconciliation-Spending/Medicare Means Testing

Senator Roth (R-Del.) moved to kill Senator Kennedy's (D-Mass.) amendment to remove from the Senate Balanced Budget Act bill a provision to, for the first time, means test Medicare part B premiums. Senator Roth's motion was agreed to 70-30. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

6. June 25, 1997. S.947—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending-Medicare Substitute

Senator Reed (D-R.I.) made a motion to eliminate the age increase for Medicare eligibility, drop the \$5-a-visit co-pay for Medicare home health services and eliminate Medicare means testing as contained in the Balanced Budget Act bill. The Reed motion failed, 25-75. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

7. June 25, 1997. S.947—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending/Private Contracts

Senator Kyl offered an amendment to the Balanced Budget Act to allow doctors to directly bill Medicare beneficiaries for Medicare-covered services at above Medicare rates. The practice destroys Medicare balance-billing protections and national Medicare payment rates. The Kyl motion passed 64-35. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

8. June 25, 1997. S.947—Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation-Spending-Premium Protections

Under the proposed Balanced Budget Act, Medicare Part B premiums are geared to sharply rise over the years. Many moderate and low-income beneficiaries will experience increasing difficulty in paying the higher premiums and other out-of-pocket costs. Senator Specter (R-Penn.) moved to assure that low income beneficiaries would receive

help in paying for the increases. A three-fifths (3/5's) majority was necessary to pass Senator Specter's motion to "waive the budget act." Under these rules, the motion failed 52-48. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

9. September 4, 1997. S.1061—Fiscal 1998 labor-HHS appropriations/Older Americans Act

Senator D'Amato (R-N.Y.) moved to increase funding for the Older Americans Act by \$40 million in support of essential local older persons services and programs. The motion passed 97-0. A "YES" vote is a pro-senior vote.

10. September 23, 1997. S.830—Food and Drug Administration (FDA) Overhaul/Review Authority

Senator Reed (D-R.I.) offered an amendment to the FDA overhaul bill to assure that the FDA would retain its authority to protect users of medical devices in cases where the FDA finds that product labels and directions are misleading or false. Older Americans are especially vulnerable to injury by medical devices when labels or directions are misleading or false. Senator Jeffords (R-Vt.) moved to kill the Reed motion and the Jeffords motion was agreed to 65-35. A "NO" vote is a pro-senior vote.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1997	CUM
											%	%
ALABAMA												
Shelby R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	10
Sessions J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	10
ALASKA												
Stevens T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	33
Murkowski F (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	?	W	0	15
ARIZONA												
McCain J (R)	R	W	W	W	R	W	W	W	R	W	30	24
Kyl J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	10
ARKANSAS												
Bumpers D (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	R	R	80	82
Hutchinson T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	10	10
CALIFORNIA												
Feinstein D (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	60	82
Boxer B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96
COLORADO												
Campbell B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	46
Allard W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	10
CONNECTICUT												
Dodd C (D)	R	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	R	W	60	84
Lieberman J (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W	40	73
DELAWARE												
Roth W (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	25
Biden J (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	80	84
FLORIDA												
Graham B (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	50	74
Mack C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	10	8
GEORGIA												
Coverdell P (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	W	40	14
Cleland M (D)	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	90	90
HAWAII												
Inouye D (D)	?	R	R	R	R	R	?	R	R	R	100	94
Akaka D (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	95
IDAHO												
Craig L (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	10	9
Kempthorne D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	10	7

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1997 %	CUM %
ILLINOIS												
Moseley-Braun C (D)	R	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	80	88
Durbin R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	100
INDIANA												
Lugar R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	16
Coats D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	17
IOWA												
Grassley C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	22
Harkin T (D)	R	W	R	R	W	R	R	R	R		80	92
KANSAS												
Brownback S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
Roberts P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
KENTUCKY												
Ford W (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	90	80
McConnell M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	13
LOUISIANA												
Breaux J (D)	R	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W		30	65
Landrieu M (D)	R	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W		50	50
MAINE												
Snowe O (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	R	R	W		50	43
Collins S (R)	W	W	R	R	W	W	R	R	W		40	40
MARYLAND												
Sarbanes P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	97
Mikulski B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	90	90
MASSACHUSETTS												
Kennedy E (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96
Kerry J (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R		80	91
MICHIGAN												
Levin C (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	90	89
Abraham S (R)	W	W	W	W	R	W	W	R	W		20	17
MINNESOTA												
Wellstone P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	90	99
Grams R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	7
MISSISSIPPI												
Cochran T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	15
Lott T (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	7
MISSOURI												
Bond C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R		20	22
Ashcroft J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
MONTANA												
Baucus M (D)	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R		50	78
Burns C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	13
NEBRASKA												
Kerrey B (D)	W	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R		50	69
Hagel C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
NEVADA												
Reid H (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	85
Bryan R (D)	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R	R		50	70
NEW HAMPSHIRE												
Smith R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
Gregg J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	14
NEW JERSEY												
Lautenberg F (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	91
Torricelli R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	90	90
NEW MEXICO												
Domenici P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	29
Bingaman J (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	?	R		78	76

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1997 %	CUM %
NEW YORK												
Moynihan D (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R		60	87
D'Amato A (R)	W	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	50	33
NORTH CAROLINA												
Helms J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	3
Faircloth L (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	8
NORTH DAKOTA												
Conrad K (D)	R	R	W	W	W	W	R	R	R		50	80
Dorgan B (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	96
OHIO												
Glenn J (D)	R	R	R	W	W	W	R	?	R		56	82
DeWine M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	13
OKLAHOMA												
Nickles D (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	6
Inhofe J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
OREGON												
Wyden R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	W	80	90
Smith G (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
PENNSYLVANIA												
Specter A (R)	R	W	R	R	R	W	W	R	R	W	60	60
Santorum R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W		20	10
RHODE ISLAND												
Chafee J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	49
Reed J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	100
SOUTH CAROLINA												
Thurmond S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	13
Hollings E (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	W	R	W		70	65
SOUTH DAKOTA												
Daschle T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	84
Johnson T (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	40
TENNESSEE												
Thompson F (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	7
Frist B (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	7
TEXAS												
Gramm P (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10
Hutchison K (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	14
UTAH												
Hatch O (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	15
Bennett R (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	8
VERMONT												
Leahy P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	93
Jeffords J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	W		20	49
VIRGINIA												
Warner J (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	23
Robb C (D)	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	R	R		30	60
WASHINGTON												
Gorton S (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	16
Murray P (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	W	90	94
WEST VIRGINIA												
Byrd R (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	83
Rockefeller J (D)	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	100	84
WISCONSIN												
Kohi H (D)	R	W	R	W	W	W	R	R	R	R	60	79
Feingold R (D)	R	R	R	R	W	R	R	R	R	R	90	96
WYOMING												
Thomas C (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	7
Enzi M (R)	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	R	W		10	10

Seniority

June/July 1998

Vol. 9 No. 424

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SENIOR CITIZENS

**Wall Street Targets
FDR's Greatest Legacy:**

NR

NCSC ISSUES 'FINAL CALL' FOR '98
LEGISLATIVE CONFERENCE
NCSC RATES CONGRESS:
HOW DID YOUR LEGISLATOR
VOTE ON SENIOR ISSUES?

Heroes and Zeroes

The National Council of Senior Citizens has evaluated Members of the House and Senate on key votes they cast in the first session of the 105th Congress on issues of importance to older men and women.

The 1997 NCSC Voting Record features specific votes that, in our opinion, directly or significantly affect the interests of seniors and their families. Many of the votes selected were motions, on and amendments to, comprehensive bills such as the Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation Act, the Consumer Price Index Adjustment Act and the Senior Citizens Home Equity Protection Act. Other votes selected were freestanding bills of great importance, such as the Senate Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment bill.

Two major events marked the direction of the first session of the 105th Congress: the increase of Democratic seats in the House, which allowed the President to increase his influence over legislation and long-term national policy; and the balanced budget agreement between the Congressional leadership and President Clinton, which has fundamentally altered the political-playing field in the aging community.

The budget agreement authorized the creation of a Bipartisan Commission on the Future of Medicare to offer recommendations for changes in the senior health care program to accommodate the needs of "Baby Boomers" over the next three decades. At the same time, the President has embarked on a series of Social Security "forums" to take place in 1998 that will culminate in a White House Conference on Social Security later in the year. Both the Medicare Commission and the White House Conference on Social Security will generate legislative options in 1999 that could change the social insurance substructure of both Social Security and Medicare.

So, how did Members of Congress respond to the challenge in 1997? Out of a possible 100 points, only one Senator scored "zero," while 15 had a perfect score of "100." In the House, two Members scored "zero," while 41 rated a score of "100."

HEROES OF 1997

Senate:

Akaka, D. (HI)
Boxer, B. (CA)
Byrd, R. (WV)
Daschle, T. (SD)
Dorgan, B. (ND)
Durbin, R. (IL)
Inouye, D. (HI)
Johnson, T. (SD)
Kennedy, E. (MA)
Lautenberg, F. (NJ)
Leahy, P. (VT)
Reed, J. (RI)
Reid, H. (NV)
Rockefeller, J. (WV)
Sarbanes, P. (MD)

Gutierrez, L. (IL)
Hastings, A. (FL)
Hilliard, E. (AL)
Jackson, J. (IL)
Kaptur, M. (OH)
Kilpatrick, C. (MI)
Kennedy, J. (MA)
Kennedy, P. (RI)
Kucinich, D. (OH)
McDermott, J. (WA)
McGovern, J. (MA)
McNulty, M. (NY)
Mink, P. (HI)
Moakley, J. (MA)
Nadler, J. (NY)
Oberstar, J. (MN)
Obey, D. (WI)
Payne, D. (NJ)
Rahall, N. (WV)
Rangel, C. (NY)
Rush, B. (IL)
Sanders, B. (VT)
Serrano, J. (NY)
Stark, P. (CA)
Towns, E. (NY)
Velazquez, N. (NY)
Watt, M. (NC)
Waxman, H. (CA)
Yates, S. (IL)

House:

Borski, R. (PA)
Boucher, R. (VA)
Clay, W. (MO)
Conyers, J. (MI)
Davis, D. (IL)
Delahunt, W. (MA)
Dellums, R. (CA)
Engel, E. (NY)
Filner, B. (CA)
Frank, B. (MA)
Gephardt, R. (MO)
Gonzalez, H. (TX)

ZEROES OF 1997

Senate:

Murkowski, F. (AK)

House:

Gingrich, N. (GA)
Schiff, S. (NM)

NCSC encourages its members to use the voting record to let other seniors know how their legislators voted in 1997 with regard to senior programs such as Social Security, Medicare, senior housing and the Older Americans Act. One way to do this is by writing a "Letter to the Editor" noting the "Heroes and Zeroes" in your state.

To secure a free copy of the 1997 NCSC Voting Record, send a #10 business-sized self-addressed stamped envelope to the following address: 1997 NCSC Voting Record, Attention: Legislative Department, National Council of Senior Citizens, 8403 Colesville Road, Suite 1200, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910-3314. You can also check out the voting record on NCSC's web site: www.NCSCinc.org.

**Statement of Scott Watts
NCSC Voting Record press conference
July 1, 1998**

The National Council of Senior Citizens, the parent organization of the Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens, has evaluated Members of the House and Senate on key votes they cast in the first session of the 105th Congress on issues of importance to older men and women. The 1997 NCSC Voting Record features specific votes that, in our opinion, directly or significantly affect the interests of seniors and their families.

Many of the votes selected were motions, on and amendments to, comprehensive bills such as the Fiscal 1998 Budget Reconciliation Act, the Consumer Price Index Adjustment Act and the Senior Citizens Home Equity Protection Act. Other votes selected were freestanding bills of great importance, such as the Senate Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment bill.

These votes were critical to increasing funding for elderly housing and programs under the Older Americans Act, ensuring cost-of-living increases for Social Security and other important programs, and protecting Medicare from efforts to cripple the program.

0355E" 16E" 40" 66
99 04 391 3530

Senator Harry Reid has consistently voted on the right side of senior issues. For his continued support of programs such as Social Security, Medicare, senior housing and the Older Americans Act, the National Council of Senior Citizens has selected Senator Reid as one of its heroes of 1997. Senator Reid scored a 100% on this year's voting record and has maintained a 85% voting record on senior issues during his entire tenure in office.

The Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens, on behalf of our members and the thousands of senior citizens in the state of Nevada, would like to publicly commend Senator Reid on his excellent voting record in Congress - the highest score received by any Member of the Nevada congressional delegation. Others in the state were rated as follows: Senator Richard Bryan, 50% in '97 and a 70% cumulative. Representative Gibbons, 40% in '98 and a score of 40% cumulative. Congress Ensign earned the lowest score with a 40% in '98 and a 30% cumulative.

The National Council of Senior Citizens is committed not only to saving programs like Social Security and Medicare, but to strengthening them for future generations. To accomplish our goal, we need more Members of Congress like Senator Harry Reid representing the Citizens of the State of Nevada.

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter Of)
Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens) Re: FEC MUR 4801
Respondent)

Declaration of Scott Watts

1. I am the President of the Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens ("NSCSC"). I have served in this capacity since January, 1998.
2. I am retired. I do not receive any salary or other form of pay from the NSCSC for performing my duties as President. I do have my expenses reimbursed.
3. NSCSC is a nonprofit corporation organized under the laws of the State of Nevada and is organized as a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization for federal and state tax purposes. NSCSC is a state chapter of the National Council of Senior Citizens but is separately governed by its own Executive Board which is elected by members of the NSCSC.
4. On July 1, 1998, I represented NSCSC at an event held at a union hall in Reno, Nevada. The purpose of the event was to discuss the voting record of Nevada's congressional delegation -- Representatives John Ensign and Jim Gibbons, and Senators Harry Reid and Richard Bryan--on issues of importance to senior citizens. Representatives Ensign and Gibbons are Republicans and Senators Reid and Bryan are Democrats.
5. Members of the local press were invited to the Reno event. Only three reporters attended. The rest of the people at the event were NSCSC members. No candidates or candidate representatives attended the event.
6. At the event, I showed a 7-8 minute film about the National Council of Senior Citizens and what the organization does to help seniors. I also talked about important senior issues pending before the Congress, such as the Archer-Kyle Amendment, and how Nevada's senators and congressmen had voted on those issues.

7. At the meeting I distributed a press statement (see attachment A) and copies of the NCSC voting record (attachment B).

8. At no time did I or anyone else present at the Reno meeting call upon anyone to vote for or against any of the four incumbents whose voting records were discussed at the meeting. Nor did I or anyone else present at the meeting endorse any candidate or even mention the 1998 elections. The discussion at the meeting was limited to solely to legislative issues that affect senior citizens and how Nevada's Senators and Congressmen had voted on those issues.

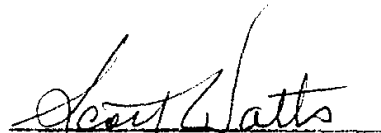
9. NSCSC did not make any expenditure or disbursement in connection with the Reno meeting. The union did not charge us for the use of its hall. There were no other costs associated with organizing the meeting other than some local phone calls or faxes which I did on my own fax machine. I made copies of my press statement on my home fax/xerox machine. I obtained copies of the February voting record from the National Council of Senior Citizens.

10. I also helped organize a similar NSCSC event in Las Vegas that was held on July 1, 1998. NSCSC was represented at that meeting by Mike Aupperle.

11. I have no knowledge of any appearance by a member of Senator Reid's staff before a meeting of the Jewish War Veterans nor do I have any knowledge of how an article regarding NSCSC's event concerning the voting records of the Nevada congressional delegation including Senator Reid appeared in the newsletter of that organization.

12. Neither I nor, to the best of my knowledge, anyone else representing NSCSC authorized the Reid campaign or any representative thereof to contact NSCSC members for the purpose of asking them to sign "pre-written" letters to the editor.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.
Executed on October 22, 1998.


Scott Watts

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter Of)
Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens)
Respondent) RE: FEC MUR 4801

Declaration of Daniel Schulder

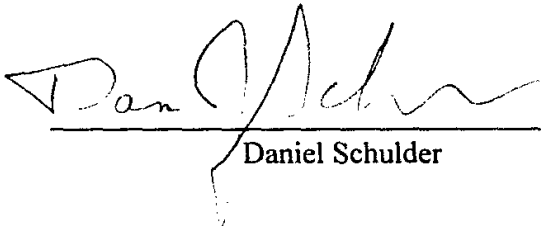
1. I am the Legislative Director of the National Council of Senior Citizens (NCSC). I have held that position since 1991.

2. In February, 1998, NCSC prepared and published a voting record reporting on certain votes taken in the first Session of the 105th Congress (the voting record). The voting records contains the votes of all Members of Congress on certain issues related to senior citizens of interest to NCSC.

3. The voting record was distributed to NCSC members, state senior councils affiliated with NCSC, and other individuals and organizations by request in February 1998. A courtesy copy was sent to each Member of Congress.

4. NCSC did not contact, communicate, or consult with any federal candidate or representative of any federal candidate in connection with the preparation or distribution of the NCSC voting record. The voting record was prepared solely entirely from public sources such as the *Congressional Quarterly* and other similar publications.

I hereby declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. Executed on October 22, 1998.



Daniel Schulder

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter Of)
Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens)
Respondent) RE: FEC MUR 4801

Declaration of Bette Cooper

1. I am the Editor of **Seniority**, the official publication for the National Council of Senior Citizens. I have held this position since 1993.

2. In June 1998, I wrote an article for the June/July issue of NCSC's magazine, **Seniority**, titled "Heroes and Zeroes". The article described the voting records of several Members of Congress on certain key legislation of importance to senior citizens.

3. In preparing that article I did not consult or communicate with any federal candidate or representative of such candidate.

4. A total of 264,000 copies of the June/July issue of **Seniority** were printed. Of these, 248,371 copies were mailed to members of NCSC and State senior councils affiliated with NCSC; 1,500 copies were distributed to members and club representatives at NCSC's 1998 Legislative Conference in July. As of October 1, 1998, there were 13,279 copies in storage with the printer. A small number of copies (about 850) were mailed to Members of Congress and other individuals or organizations interested in senior issues.

5. It is my job to oversee the publication and distribution of **Seniority**. Neither I nor, to my knowledge, anyone else had any communication or contact with any federal candidate or federal candidate representative in connection with the publication or distribution of the June/July 1998 issue of **Seniority**.

I declare under penalty or perjury that the foregoing is true and correct. Executed on October 22, 1998.

Bette Cooper
Bette Cooper

2025 OCT 23 10:10 AM

ATTACHMENT 4

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter Of)
Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens) Re: FEC MUR 4801
Respondent)

Declaration of Michael T. Aupperle

1. I am an Executive Board member of the Nevada State Council of Senior Citizens ("NSCSC"). I live in Las Vegas, Nevada.
2. As a member of the Executive Board, I do not receive any salary or other form of pay or compensation for any activity I undertake for NSCSC other than a reimbursement for travel expenses.
3. On July 1, 1998, I attended an NSCSC event held at the Dula Gymnasium Studio in Las Vegas. The purpose of the event was to discuss the voting records of Nevada's congressional delegation -- Representatives John Ensign and Jim Gibbons, and Senators Harry Reid and Richard Bryan -- on issues of importance to senior citizens. Representatives Ensign and Gibbons are Republicans and Senators Reid and Bryan are Democrats.
4. The event was held in conjunction with a regular meeting of a seniors club that meets at the same location. Also present at the event was another NSCSC member, Len Vizzaccaro.
5. Members of the local press were invited to attend the event. Only one television reporter showed up. No candidates or candidate representatives attended the event.
6. At the event, Len Vizzaccaro and I spoke about the issues that are described in the NSCSC voting record, particularly the Kyle Amendment and why they are important to senior citizens. We also described the voting records of each member of the Nevada congressional delegation on those issues. Copies of the NSCSC voting record and a reprint of an article from Seniority Magazine entitled article entitled "Heroes and Zeroes" as well as a summary of the voting "scores" of each officeholder was passed out.
7. At no time did I or Len Vizzaccaro or anyone else present at the July 1, 1998, meeting call upon anyone to vote for or against any of the four incumbents

whose voting records were discussed at the meeting. Nor did I or anyone else present at the meeting endorse any candidate or refer to the 1998 elections. The discussion at the meeting was limited to solely to legislative issues that affect senior citizens and how Nevada's Senators and Congressmen had voted on those issues. In fact, we specifically stated that we were not there to endorse any candidate or to ask anyone to vote in a particular way.

8. NSCSC did not make any expenditure or disbursement in connection with the Las Vegas meeting. We were guests at a regularly scheduled monthly meeting of a retiree group which met in a senior citizen center. There is no charge for meetings held at the senior center which is owned by the city. I obtained the materials that were distributed at the meeting from Scott Watts, president of the NSCSC and then duplicated additional materials on my personal copy machine. There were no other expenses associated with the meeting.

I declare under penalty of perjury that the foregoing is true and correct.
Executed on October 20, 1998


Michael T. Supperle